

THE *Parham*
DYING LEGACY
OF AN
AGED MINISTER
OF THE
EVERLASTING GOSPEL
TO THE
UNITED STATES
OF
NORTH-AMERICA

Quid est suavius quam bene rem gerere
pro bono publico ?

Plaut. in Capt. 3. 24

Vincet Amor Patriæ.

Virgil.

Urgentibus Rempublicam Fatis, salutare Dei & Hominum
Admonitiones sperantur.

Liv. Decad. 5.

Infructuosum saltem non erit, quod prodesse tentavi :
Mens, si effectum non invenerit capiti operis, habet tamen
Præmium Voluntatis.

Præf. Salviani Libr. De Gubernat. Dei.

B O S T O N :

Printed by BENJAMIN EDES and SONS,

in CORNHILL.

M,DCC,LXXXIII.

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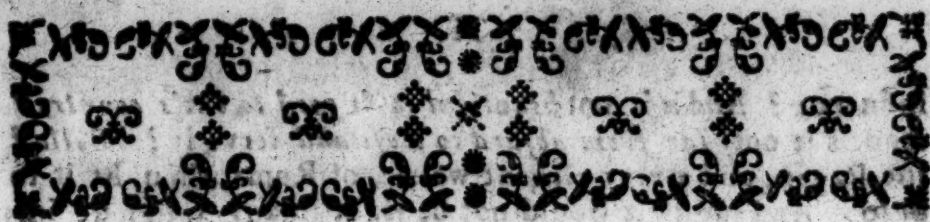
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14 DEC 1971



THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE READER.

HAVING early devoted myself to the service of GOD and his people ; it has been my fixed inclination and stedfast purpose of heart, to employ the powers and faculties with which I am divinely favoured, in that service.

As I deliberately and conscientiously embarked in the *American* cause at the beginning of the conflict with *Britain*, as the cause of truth and righteousness and of just liberty, I have endeavoured also firmly to abide by it, to apologize for it, and in proper ways to maintain it : And, in reflecting on my own past conduct, I must own, that I have great comfort and satisfaction.

And now it is from sincere good will, respect and attachment to the *UNITED STATES* of *North America*, that I have written the following short essay ; which I have called, as I would have it understood to be, *The Dying Legacy of an aged Minister* : For as I am apprehensive that my life is drawing to a close, and I may reasonably expect my death to be accelerating ; I am willing to finish my days with shewing my undisssembled love and cordial regard to the present and future welfare and prosperity of these free and independent States.

Now can any one be offended with me, or reasonably blame me, for engaging in such an attempt as this, and faithfully prosecuting it ? Is it not my duty, in common with others, to consult for the public welfare and happiness, and to promote the same according to the measure of my capacity and influence ?

influence? And is it not beautiful to do good to one's country? And is it not far from absurd to bless and serve it? Sallust the Pagan, and a very elegant writer, of Rome, thought it to be so. And surely it would not be right in any religious instructor, or indeed for any christian, to think and judge otherwise.

But if any should rise up and inquire, Why do you, sir, interest yourself in these affairs, and intermeddle in politics, when your business is with religious & ecclesiastical matters? They will allow me to answer for myself; and my answer is this, that as I am about to leave the world I am very willing and heartily desirous to offer and leave behind me some testimony of my concern for the welfare and happiness of the States, to which I belong, and of their posterity also in future and successive generations.

It is probable, highly probable, that there may be some, yea many, who are more capable than I am, for performing such a service as is here proposed and intended: but it is very likely that they may not think of it; or if it should come into their minds, they may be averse or backward to perform it.

I humbly entreat and would sanguinely hope, that none will be offended or troubled for my honest endeavours to serve the public; especially as I suppose it my duty to stir up my mind and use my endeavours, before I go hence, to promote the common good. And I must frankly own that this attempt for doing some public service affords some relief and consolation to my own heart; and I can depart hence in greater peace for performing it.

Plutarch tells us, of a Spartan woman, who was informed that all her five sons were slain in battle; but the enemies were worsted and her countrymen were conquerors; and she then uttered this heroic speech; *Let the miserable therefore mourn: but, as my country is conqueror, I reckon myself happy.* What a brave speech was this! and how magnanimous the female that made it! It would be for the safety and honour of all the Americans, if they were possessed of such public virtue, and would reckon themselves happy under the most disagreeable events, in the success and prosperity of their country and people.

It is my purpose, while my spirit actuates these feeble limbs, for the sake of the house and religion of my God, to seek the Good of these American States: And for my brethren and companion's sake I will now say, and as long as I breathe I will utter it, Peace and prosperity be within these regions, Amen.



To the UNITED and INDEPENDENT, PO-
TENT, UNCONQUERED and ILLUSTRIOUS STATES of NORTH-AMERICA.

The Introduction to the Legacy.

Much bonored, esteemed & beloved,

YOU will permit one of your own country, though far advanced in life, and expecting soon to quit this earthly tabernacle, to shew his cordial respect and love to you, by leaving *this Legacy* to you; which, however small in itself, yet will contain the surest and most incontestible proofs of his inviolable regard to your truest and best interests: and hence, as he hopes, it will be received by his legatees, in a kind and favorable manner.

The *British* nation, though our ancestors came from among them yet never regarded us only from the selfish principle, and with a view to their own advantage; and they have constantly and invariably pursued their avaritious and lucrative views and aims, right or wrong, *per fas vel nefas*; but principally in the latter way, until they themselves have fallen into the ditch, which they have made for their harmless neighbours, at a thousand leagues distance from them.

The first settlers of *New England* contracted with the crown and so with the kingdom to settle this country at their own expence; upon this condition, that they and their posterity should forever enjoy the liberty claimed by Englishmen, without any let or molestation.

Heartened

Heartened and encouraged therefore, by the prospect of the free enjoyment of their civil and religious rights, immunities and privileges, these worthy settlers, for the space of twelve years, advanced vastly more than two hundred thousands of pounds for carrying on their settlement :—and they employed about one hundred and ninety ships for the same purpose and end ; out of which number, through the favor of kind providence, they lost but one ship only.

It might reasonably be supposed and expected that, after their vast expences, and their suffering a great variety of difficulties and hardships in the settlement of a new country, with which they were before quite unacquainted, their brethren at home, living in ease and plenty, would readily allow them all needful assistance to lighten their burdens and render their lives more comfortable. But who could have imagined, that within eight years after our ancestors came over here, and had encountered so many inconveniences and afflictive trials, even in the year 1638, the King in Council, issued an order, to hinder any ships from carrying passengers and loading to this country :—and there was another order also, whereby a number of ships, that were loaded for this country, were constrained to be unloaded : nor was this all ; but under the conduct of the very little, but greatly mischievous and bloody, archbishop *Laud*, the worthy settlers here were called in the order from the king's council *factions persons*. And if any one would chuse to have authentic proof of this, they may find it in *Rushworth's* historical collections.

However, not contented with giving us hard words and injurious treatment, the *British* court afterwards formed a cruel scheme for totally extirpating this people by settling a colony of Roman catholicks on our borders. Such was the protection that *Britain* at first gave to our ancestors ; and these were her early kindnesses to them.

When the country become well settled and our numbers were greatly increased, the selfish folks, who had the management of *British* affairs, then thought it high time, to oppress and oppress us for their own benefit : and they then projected to have *custom houses* set up and established here, with the many officers and servitors that were necessary for carrying on their designs and affairs.

And henceforth they have been contriving and endeavoring, year after year, and reign after reign of their princes, to impose heavy taxes and arbitrary duties not only on the *New-English*, but upon all the other, American plantations.

The

The Americans had with much labor and toil, as well as with much expence, obtained their just rights and liberties. And why should a foreign people take it upon them in the way of statutes to deprive them of their substance without their consent? And must it not be wrong for them to do so? For as *Quintilian* rightly observes, *whatsoever is rightly possessed is taken away by injury*. And, could it be believed that any people or any man would continue and abide any longer in that condition, that they do not like, and for which they are sorry than is just necessary? *

But, as it is with one, who once passes over the bounds of modesty, it follows of course, that he soon becomes remarkably impudent; in like manner has it been with the parliament of Britain: For, after their immodest claim of taking away our substance, without our leave and against our consent, they at length assumed to themselves such licentious and unbridled insolence as formally to declare by a public act in the blaze of day, that they had of right power to make laws binding on the American colonies in all cases whatsoever. Was there ever such an exorbitant and unreasonable claim? And could any thing more unjust be challenged? It is saying at once, that we have nothing of our own; but all we have is at their disposal.

The famous *Austin* tells us, and very truly, that *the iniquitous constitutions of men are not to be called laws, nor so be esteemed so*; † and as we Americans thought so, we therefore justly rejected and trampled on their iniquitous and unjust constitutions.

That prodigy of tyranny and unjust usurpation over the rights of mankind, *Julius Caesar*, conducted as if the whole world was made for him, and he alone ought to be free in it, as the Latin poet *Lucan* sang of him, *Toto solus in orbe—Caesar liber erit*; *Caesar throughout the world will sole be free*. And madam Britain, could she have her own will and way, would choose and act much in the same manner.

But it is strange, that they could not recollect the speech of their old savage countryman, *Caratacus*, to the commander of the Roman army in Britain. When the Romans were about to put the chains, which they had forged for the Britons, on them;

* *Liv. Lib. 3. c. 21.*

† *Augustin, de. De Civitate Dei. Lib. 9. 23.*

them; What! said the brave Sachem *Caramacus* to them, *If you would be rulers and governors over all, it does not follow that all should take servitude, † or become slaves to you.*

The *Americans* knew their own rights, as well as their task-masters; nor would they give way to their arbitrary acts and their tyrannic manner of executing them: but they set themselves with might and main to resist and oppose them: and all the thinking and sober people in the world will think that they were right in so doing, and they do rejoice and will be glad, at the success of their proceedings.

However, *our resistance and opposition* to the claimed omnipotence of the *British* usurpers and oppressors was very provoking to them; and from their own fancied omnipotence, they became inclined and resolved to subdue and humble us: and so madly were they set upon *this*, that, rather than not effect it, they would hurry themselves on to destruction. § Hence they began hostilities on us; and these brought on a cruel war against us. And thus, through their folly and madness, we were constrained to resist them, to wage war with them and utterly and forever to renounce their dominion over us.

And now it is apparent and manifest to the whole world, that through the interposition and blessing of the Lord of hosts, *who sits on his throne, judging right*, our righteous cause and our manly efforts to support it have been owned and succeeded: and we have prevailed so far as to obtain that *freedom and independence*, which we rightly and wisely claimed; and to which, as the winners of it by a noble struggle, we are justly entitled.

Surely our *British* persecutors and oppressors would not have used us so basely, so unrighteously and cruelly, as it is well known they have, if they had known and prudently considered the strength and resources of these *American* regions. Why! even *New England* alone is a match, and more than a match for any force that *Britain* could send here: for, within *New England* alone, now consisting of *four independent States*, there are at least, it is judged, three hundred thousand fighting men; who, by the common blessing of providence, would be capable of resisting any force by land that could be sent against them. And how great and powerful then

† Apud Tacit. Annal. 12

§ Quam Deus destruxerat dominat. Adag. commune;

then must be the forces of all these States, when they are united in one common cause against a common enemy ?

A famous *Lacedemonian* general named *Brasidas* had once a little mouse in his hand, and he thought, from the vanity of his heart, how absolutely the poor little animal was in his power and at his disposal, and how easily he could put an end to his life ; instantly the little despised animal gave the general a nip, and forced him to let him go, and away he ran from him : whereupon the general exclaimed, *O Jupiter ! what creature is there so little and so contemptible but may have his liberty if he will fight for it !*

The mistaken and headstrong managers of *British* affairs fondly, but weakly, supposed, that they had the small and feeble *Americans* as much under their dominion and at their disposal, as *Brasidas* thought he had his mouse : but by fighting for our liberty we have given them fully to understand how vain and idle their attempt to hold us has been, and to retain us in subjection to their heavy hand.

And blessed be *Jehovah*, who has not given us as a prey to them : no ! through him helping of us we are as a bird escaped out of the snare of the fowler : the snare is broken and we are escaped : For our help has been in the name of *Jehovah*, the son of *GOD*, who made heaven and earth.

As the *Medes* and *Persians* were designed and prepared for the destruction of the *Babylonians* ; hence it pleased *God* to call them his sanctified ones, in *Isai. xiii. 3.* that is, set apart for his own service in that business : and it really looks as if divine providence had raised up these *Americans* for depressing the pride and humiliating the arrogance of the *Britons*, and had sanctified them, or set them apart, with the assistance of others, for this service.

The Dying Legacy itself.

AND now, as through the divine influence and blessing on the *American* arms and those of our allies, we have at length obtained the peace which we sought by war ! § It must be our

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duty

§ The renowned protector *Cromwell's* motto, *Pax queritur bello.*

dity and interest to endeavour by all suitable means to *preserve and secure the blessing*, which has been so dearly bought by us both to ourselves and for them that are to come after us — And indeed, as the poet sings, *Non minor est virtus, quam acquirere, parva tueri* ; which may be thus translated :

'Tis no less virtue, when good terms are gain'd,
To guard those things so virtuously obtain'd.

And as the celebrated Emperor of Persia, *Cyrus*, said of empire, *I account it a great matter to acquire ; but a greater to keep it when I have got it* ; — we may, in like manner, remark with regard to our *liberty and independence*, it is a great thing to have obtained them ; but it is still greater, having obtained them, to keep and secure them.

We *Americans* without doubt, are all willing for restored and confirmed peace ; *Pacem se possimus omnes* : We all demand and require thee, O sweet peace : And it may be proper and advisable therefore to have the methods of peace, tranquility and happiness laid before us : And we shall find *these* most honored and beloved, in the choice and practice of *altruistic* *consciousness*. If therefore we would have *our peace as a river*, gently, smoothly, and continually gliding along, we shall see to it, that *our righteousness is as the waves of the sea*, plentifully and abundantly rising and spreading abroad : For *righteousness*, with the moving works of it, will afford peace and quietness and great prosperity to us.

It is proper and right, that the foundation of this *righteousness* should be laid in an *unfeigned and thorough repentance and conversion*. For the merciful and gracious Governor of the World has been visiting us in loving kindness and with tender mercies, in order to allure us to *repentance unto life*. And yet we have not generally returned to him. — And hence he has seen fit to change the tenor of his dispensations towards us : He, who is the author and giver of *peace* has been the creator of the evil of war for us. And although the instruments that have been employed by him in this war, have most unrighteously begun it, and most inhumanly and cruelly prosecuted it, until they have been compelled to relinquish it, yet GOD has been holy and righteous in sending this evil upon us : And it must now be fit and reasonable, and a necessary

cessary and indispensable duty to return to him, who has been smiting us with the rod of the *Affyrion*, as well as loading us with benefits.

Wherefore we should, both personally and as a people, throughout these States, cease to do evil and learn to do well, and put away the evil of our doings from before the Divine eye: righten the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow: We should do justly, love and shew mercy, and humble ourselves in walking with our GOD.

But as it may be of advantage to have a plain exhibition of those particular parts of righteousness, by the practice of which we may both obtain and secure confirmed peace and prosperity: I shall therefore endeavour to set before you those particular duties of righteousness, that are divinely required and most surely expected from us of right, both as particular persons and as communities.

Righteousness indeed, in the most large and extensive sense of the word, comprehends in it, a due care to yield all holy obedience, and to discharge the duties that we owe to GOD and our neighbours: and we should herein exercise ourselves, as the righteous did in ancient times, to keep consciences void of all offence, both towards GOD and towards man. And happy indeed would it be for this people, as well as for the particular persons among us, if these States, in general, consisted of such pious and virtuous consorts, as were *Zacharias* and *Elisabeth*, who were righteous before GOD, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.

There are, alas! too many, in these degenerate days, who do not think of the duties, which they owe to GOD, to so much purpose as to carefully practice them; and such as these are chargeable with unrighteousness: for they are so dishonest, as well as impious, that they neglect and refuse to render to the blessed GOD his dues. And ought not this to be accounted unjust? Certainly none are more unrighteous than the impious who will neither secretly nor socially acknowledge their dependence on Almighty GOD, and their obligations to him.

The most glorious and merciful Being is most certainly entitled to social and public acknowledgments and honors, as well as to secret and reclusive ones: And these ought in justice to be rendered to him: and it is incumbent on the civil magistrate to endeavour, both by his authority and example, to recommend and enforce some due regard to these.

I do not mean, that the *civil magistrate* has a right to prescribe the form of religion, or to enjoin such rites and ceremonies of worship as are pleasing to him : for the glorious head and lord of the church has given the civil magistrate no such power and authority : and therefore, they are much to blame who presume to exercise any such power and authority.

There is indeed but one lawgiver, king and lord of the church : nor has any one a rightful claim to usurp upon his authority. If therefore, an ensconced old gentleman at *Rome*, or any weak and vain king assuming his claimed power, will set up for *head of the church*, and under that character will issue out edicts for the observation of *times not divinely instituted, & uninstituted modes and formalities of worship* : we ought not to be such *servants of men* as to pay any regard to them : but we should despise and reject their arrogant claims and usurpations.

The remarks of the eminently learned *Bochart*, may here be mentioned : and they will deserve a particular and close consideration, especially with those, who are fond of human heads over them in religion and their inventions and impositions : *Jeroboam*, says this prodigy of learning, instituted a solemnity, not on the *seventh month* as the divine law commanded, but on the *eighth*, to be celebrated : Here therefore *all things were prophane* ; the gods prophane, prophane the priests, prophane the holy days, the sacrifices prophane : for says the wise liberator, *in the matter of religion, whatsoever has not GOD for its author, is prophane* § And therefore these calves, i. e. the calves of *Jeroboam*, set up for gods, are called devils in 2 Chron. xi. 15.

And we have sufficient reason to think and say that any church with a *worldly head*, and consisting of *pompous prelates* and other officers not so much as mentioned in the sacred code and observing holidays and rites and ceremonies of human appointment, offers indignities and affronts to the only head, king and lord of the church ; and it is chargeable with making a criminal *encroachment on the inheritance of CHRIST* †

We therefore honestly declare against all such usurpations, impositions and encroachments : for as nothing will be pleasing to God our saviour but what is freely and voluntarily offered to him according to his discoveries and injunctions, therefore,

§ *Bochart. Hierozoicon. Lib. 2. Cap. 34. P. 357.*

† *Dr. Owen's Sermon before Parliament.*

therefore, all should be left to *think and believe for themselves* according to the sense and meaning of the sacred writings, and to *worship God in that way and manner* which they judge to be right according to the will of God in Christ Jesus made known to them.

But yet we humbly conceive, that it cannot be right or just for any in these States to neglect and refuse to render social and public worship to GOD, in such a way as they pretend to approve, along with those who think it their duty to do so: And therefore we must think, that the neglect and refusal of this religious worship is wrong and unjust, as well as impious.

However, it is to be perceived, with grief of heart, that there are many, who shew, that they have *no fear of GOD before their eyes*, by behaving as if *GOD was not in all their thoughts*. And should these be allowed openly to dishonor GOD, on whom we all depend, and to give disturbance to their neighbours, who are better, because more religious, than themselves? Verily *these things ought not so to be*.

There was a great orator named *Marcus Aurelius Fronto*, who was chosen to teach *Marcus Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus* rhetoric, and hence gained the honor of Consulship, who uttered a very solid and useful apothegm, which is handed down to us as follows, *It is a very great misfortune to live under an Emperor, who will suffer no body to do any thing: But it is a much greater misfortune to be under a Prince who allows every body to do as they please.*

As all but such as are faithless, impious and atheistical, will allow that the Lord of all should be publicly worshipped and honored: and as a seventh part of time has been set apart at the beginning for shewing a becoming respect to the Deity; and many of the nations of the earth have thought such a portion of time should be devoted to sacred rest and worship; they must be very much mistaken, who think themselves wiser than their neighbours, because they *regard no day to the Lord*, nor will pay him any public homage in the way of religion.

And as ever since the resurrection of our Lord Jesus, all who are called Christians, have shewed a religious regard to the *Lord's day*, we think it fit and reasonable that this day should be observed by all who would be accounted Christians, according

ording to the *primitive practice* and the notices which our glorious Lord has given us of his approbation of it.

And hence may it not be apprehended, that if any will presume to dishonour and affront this day; or even the day preceding it, wherever it is religiously observed by well disposed and honest, but mistaken, people, and to disturb and give pain to the pious Christians who assemble for divine worship; their conduct must be generally and justly blamed as disreputable, as it is wrong: and surely such disorderly persons, as *not honoring God but despising him*, ought according to his will to be *lightly esteemed*. And if they will not worship God as their neighbours do, on the *Lord's day*, their pious neighbours may well refuse to have any unnecessary familiarity with them on other days; and the good people may well refuse to give them their suffrages for sustaining any posts in the commonwealth: for they are quite unworthy of them; as like the unjust judge, they discover *neither fear of God nor regard to the men among whom they live*.

Even among the more knowing *Pagans*, the man who would not worship God in society; and *the cultor deorum infrequens*, as *Horace* writes, that is, an infrequent or not regular worshipper of the Gods was contemned as a bad man. And how indeed can any such an one be deemed good or righteous, among any rational and considerate Christians?

But then there are duties to be performed to our neighbours around us, which are in a more strict sense characterised as *righteousness*: And this righteousness is in the sacred writings sometimes distinguished from *holiness*, as in *Luke 1. 75*.

The vital root of this righteousness is the love of our neighbours, and the faith which worketh by love. There should be the great, powerful, agitating principle of charity, or love, within us: And we should importunately intreat and urge the GOD of all grace, that he would shed abroad this love of our neighbours in our hearts, as well as of our GOD, by his HOLY SPIRIT. And, at the same time, we should endeavour from our hearts to exercise and evidence it. And the great rule by which we are to do this, is thus made known to us by our Divine Lord, *All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them. For this is the law and the prophets*; i. e. This is the sum of that duty which the law and the prophets require to be performed to our neighbours. And indeed this is that golden rule, which some of the *Heraclites* themselves judged worthy to be written in letters of gold.

gold: And *Septimius Severus*, the Roman Emperor, was so taken with it, that he ordered it to be written on the walls of his palace.

But, if we would *seek peace and pursue it, righteousness* is to be steadfastly approved, chosen and practiced in every instance by us.

It is here taken for granted by us, that there is a *righteousness* due and to be exercised to all manner of persons: For all manner of persons are to be considered according to their respective stations, relations, characters and merits; and, conformably to the Divine directions, we are to render to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honor to whom honor.

They who sustain domestic relations, as *husbands and wives, parents and children masters and servants*, should learn the duties resulting from those relations, from the dictates of nature and the precepts of divine revelation, and be careful wisely and faithfully to discharge those duties.

And as there are some who sustain superior and public relations and characters; there are duties to be performed towards these; and they should be *righteously performed*: As those in public life should wisely, and faithfully, and righteously do their duties to the people over whom they are placed.

We will suppose, for we ought to suppose it, until we know otherwise, that they, who are advanced as rulers over us in the *several States*, aim at the public good, and lay themselves out according to their varying capacities, prudently and faithfully to serve the public communities over which they are placed: And if they really do so, and are actually very serviceable in their stations and eminent *benefactors* to their people; they should be justly esteemed and honored by them that are under them; and they should be treated by them with great civilities and respects, and allowed by them honorary supports and encouragements. Nor should there be any discoveries of ungratefulness and ingratitude towards such rulers: For, in the discoveries of these there would be *viz. unrighteousness*. Surely hatred, ill will and severe censure, slander, neglect and contempt, would be unbecoming and base from a people towards such as have deserved well of them. When rulers have laid themselves out, and even ventured their lives, to serve a people and keep them from ruin; and they, to the uttermost of their power, have endeavoured

to promote their interest with inviolate integrity, with excellent prudence and unfainting industry ; it must surely be very wrong, ungrateful and unjust, to requite them with nothing but the illiberal manifestations of dislike and enmity. The most worthy *Moses* was however treated in such a manner as this. When he, with the greatest discretion and fidelity, and with wonderful success, had strove time after time, to relieve and help the distressed congregation of *Israel* in the wilderness ; they were again and again displeased with him and murmured against him : Which conduct was not merely ungenerous and unkind, but very unrighteous : For he had demonstrated himself worthy of the highest civil regards, acknowledgments and honors from them.

And then, as to those, who *labor in the word and doctrine* ; and who endeavour faithfully to promote truth, righteousness, and goodness. *These* are, as the word of GOD declares them to be, *worthy of double honor* ; and they ought in reason to be accounted so. And hence it must be wrong and *unrighteous*, if, while they behave well, they are not screened and protected against abuses and injuries from unreasonable men. And indeed all should desire and endeavour, that they may be treated in a righteous, if not in a generous manner.—And as they have an undoubted right to receive and *enjoy the good of their labor*, in common with other men ; and they are too often put to inconveniencies and troubles only for making a modest claim of their due, according to a free contract ; it may hence be thought worthy of consideration, whether a competent provision may not be made for them by the several states in the public and general taxation, and this may not be received by them from the public treasuries of the respective states ? Thus the states of *Holland* have provided for their religious instructors : Nor has it been found that any bad effect has resulted from it.* It

* Some perhaps may conjecture and say, that I have written this from the *selfish principle*. For those, who are too much governed by this principle, are apt to think that others are so. But so far am I from being influenced by any such consideration, that I have *preached the gospel freely*, and have expended of my own, what would amount to a good estate, in doing it : For I have ever hated to be burdensome. However, I am not in suffering circumstances ; and therefore I

It should also be the common and general care and endeavour throughout these States, that all may know and practice righteousness according to the right rules of *commutative justice*.

In all *bargains, contracts and exchanges*, between man and man, an equitable consideration should be had, and a reasonable price and allowance should be demanded and given : For it would be wrong by withholding right, and by unjust gain to increase ones worldly substance. And surely, if we do not, in buying and selling, or any kind of bartering, act rationally and equitably, *we do not herein act righteously*. If it should be here inquired, how in our trading and commercial dealings, we are to transact matters reasonably and righteously ? This answer may be given in a plain and familiar manner. We should see to it always, that some reasonable advantage may accrue both to the buyer and seller. So that the profit and advantage of others, as well as of our own, are always to be honestly sought and pursued by us : And we shou'd always take a conscientious care, that others, as well as ourselves, may not be prejudiced and wronged. And if we clearly perceive that any real damage may accrue to our neighbours, by what we are about to make over to them, we should refrain from doing them such wrong and injury : For it would not be right and just, knowingly, to do any of our neighbours any such damage and injury.

And there is *righteousness* to be practised in the *payment of the due wages* for the work that is performed. As what is right and just and encouraging to labor may and should be engaged : so what is fairly promised should be faithfully and righteously performed and made good : nor should it be injuriously withheld. *The cries of laborers*, both in public and private employments, if the recompence due to them be unrighteously detained from them, *will reach to heaven and enter into the ears of the most holy and righteous Lord of Sabaoth*, and he will *avenge their wrongs*.

But, that so *righteousness* may have a *free course and run down all our streets as a gentle and unpolluted stream*, it is
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requisite

I can with the more freedom and cheerfulness commend my worthy brethren, who are *suffering in the work of the Lord*, to a favorable notice and equitable treatment from their too penurious brethren.

requisite that *all the measures* of these states, both *dry and liquid*, should be invariably fixed and established: and there should be a *public standard* in every town throughout all the states, whereby *all their weights* as well as *measures* should be regulated: for the *righteous Lord loveth righteousness*; and therefore a *false balance* and *all false weights and measures* are an *abomination* to him: and he is most certainly displeased with all those who *use* them, and who *knowingly make* them for the use of others.

And if it be wrong and unrighteous to *falsify the balance by deceit*, and to leave the *common measures* used in trade and traffic at a loose and uncertain state; surely it must be *exceedingly wrong and unrighteous* to leave that money by which all trade and commerce is to be regulated, in a varying and uncertain condition: for, if there be a variation of the *dry or liquid measures* used among any people, must not much *unrighteousness* and confusion proceed from it? And in like manner, if the *current money* of any state should deviate from the just standard; will it not be an inlet to a vast deal of *iniquity and roguery*, and to a general insensibility of discredit, and to every evil work and a vast variety of mischiefs?

Wherefore the utmost care should be used, and that as speedily as may be, that the current money among us may be fixed and established upon a sure and solid basis; that is to say, on a *silver foundation*: for *silver* among civilized nations, is made the measure and standard of commerce: and it is so by virtue of its quantity: so that, as many ounces of silver as any man has, and what he has will procure for him, he is worth just so much of worldly wealth, and in truth no more.

It is my fervent wish and prayer therefore, that the principal managers of the continental affairs would, as soon as possible, get this money matter well regulated, ascertained and established.

And if the potent, unconquered and illustrious *States General of North America* would with convenient speed get a quantity of *bullion*, and have it cast into various species of coin at a mint of their own, with such an *American stamp*, as may be proper in itself, and may ascertain its intrinsic worth and value; it might answer some good and very valuable purposes.

And further, there is a *chastising and punishing righteousness* that should be generally approved; and it should be exercised in a *fit and righteous manner* on all delinquents.

All malefactors and criminals should be justly punished in all the states according to the just laws made by them : for the civil magistrates will *bear the sword in vain*, if they do not give *terror to evil doers* by a due execution of the penal laws that are made against them : they should therefore see to it, that the bold transgressors of the penal laws of these states should be *punished for their evil deeds* with just rigor.

This northern state, wherein I sojourn, and from which I expect soon to take my departure, was formerly famed for its sobriety and piety. A worthy minister who lived here for a number of years, and afterwards returned to *England*, being called to preach before the parliament of *England*, he particularly related to them in his sermon, that *he had lived in a country above seven years, wherein, for the whole time, he had never seen a person drunk, nor heard a profane oath.*

Things, alas ! have been strangely altered since : and it may now of one and another be truly said, this and that person is *magnorum indignus avorum*, unworthy of their great, as well as good, ancestors. And one, among other causes of it, has been our connection with *Great Britain* :—their profane soldiers and sailors, their rakes, their bucks, their debauchees have come among us, and freely mixed among our people : and we have been so unadvised and foolish as to learn their wicked and vicious ways : And although *the reprovers of the gate*, as well as *in the desk*, have been bearing their faithful testimony against the growing profaneness and spreading vice and immorality among us ; they are still unhappily prevailing among us.

There seem now to be some *new laws* wanting in these states against *daring profaneness and blasphemies* and the other gross and scandalous immoralities among us, that are dangerous to the public peace and welfare : and if such should be made, it would be well to have them prudently and faithfully executed.

And, while a proper care is shewed, that such laws are *impartially made* : there should be an equal care, that they may be *impartially executed* : For, while the *small flies* are caught by the cobweb, *flimsy laws* ; the *greater flies* should not be suffered to break through them with impunity. This is an old observation, that is by *Plutarch* ascribed to *Anacharsis* ; though some give to *Zaleuchus* the credit of it. But, whoever was the author of it, the elegant *Latin* poet seems to have copied it, when he writes, *Inde latae leges, ne fortior omnia posset* :
hence

since laws were made that the *stronger ones* might not do all things that they pleased. But these stronger ones should be made to know, that, if they insolently dare to trample upon the most righteous laws, they shall smart and suffer for so doing: For otherwise *the greatest crimes will be easily permitted, unless they are forbidden and discouraged by powerful and righteous revenges.*

And there should be particular care taken, that, if any should conspire and make attempts against the peace and good order and prosperity of these states in general, or any particular state; as that righteously severe laws should be made against such profligates, traitors and parricides; so that these laws should be put in execution with proper and righteous severity, that others *may see, or hear, and fear, and not presume to do so wickedly.*

And, from hence, it may be argued and concluded, that they, who, instead of doing wrong to *any particular state, or the states in general, are inoffensive and useful members of any state and beneficial to the community at large,* should, as there may be occasion for it, be vindicated, protected and encouraged in well doing.

Nor is this all; but there is a *further righteousness*, that may be reasonably expected to be practised by all them that have done irregular and wrong things to others: and this is, that they should *make restitution* for them. If therefore any particular persons or any people have injured others, they ought to restore what they wrongfully taken away or withheld from them, and make all reasonable compensation for the damages done by them.—And it is my sedate thought and serious apprehension; and, as it will give ease to my mind, I will venture to mention it, that as *Britain* has been most unrighteously and with most wanton cruelty destroying numbers of towns in these *American* regions, they cannot upon good grounds look for the favor and blessing of almighty God, nor to be forgiven of men, unless they make reparation for the wrongs done by them to the utmost extent of their ability.

But having now delineated our duty, both as particular persons and as peoples *to approve and practice righteousness,* we may be suffered to draw one good conclusion from the whole, which, as I trust, will be *received in the meekness of wisdom.*

Whatsoever then of *unrighteousness* there has been and still is among us, all of it most certainly calls for our penitent sorrows, our earnest prayers & a thorough reformation among us.

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The souls of us all should be grieved, vexed and humbled at the view and consideration of our own trespasses against the laws of righteousness, and the too general unrighteousnesses, as well as impieties that have been among us : and, beholding and considering *our own* faults and iniquities and the transgressions of *others* ; we should *sorrow after a godly sort*, that the divine laws have been no better observed and kept among us. And from a right *hungering and thirsting after universal righteousness*, we should most humbly and earnestly *seek* for the communication of it : and, while we are thus soliciting the *most high to come and rain down righteousness on us*, we should endeavour to *sow to ourselves in righteousness*, that we may *reap in mercy*. Come then, *and let us return to the blessed Jehovah and our duty* ; and returning and living to God in Christ Jesus, we should henceforth, both personally and as a people, throughout the united states, become inclined and resolved to bring forth all the fruits of righteousness, truth and goodness, which will be to the divine glory and to our own benefit, honor and comfort.

Some perhaps may by this time be apt to think and ready to say, that a sufficiency of divinity has been offered ; and it may be so. However your welfare and your best good, as individuals and as communities, has been consulted and prosecuted in the foregoing admonitions and counsels. And it will be safe and happy for us all *as particular persons and as states in union*, if we will from the heart comply with them.

But my testament must not yet come to a period : no, there are some other things to be annexed, that may serve, if you please, as a *codicil* to my testament : for I am not willing to omit any thing that may be for the good and happiness of them that are like to be continued in the world after me.

And here the *first* thing that I would beg leave to advise and recommend is, that these states would strive to answer to the name and character by which they are distinguished and dignified ; which is that of *United States*. It is of the greatest moment and importance, that this character should be powerfully supported and sacredly maintained.

There was a certain aged person, who long ago subsisted, whose name has slipped out of my mind, that as he was drawing near his end, called for his sons ; whether they were *thirteen* in number I cannot exactly remember : and as his sons were about him, he called for a bundle of sticks, and he directed one of his sons to take one of the sticks and
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break it ; which he readily and easily performed. And then he ordered one and another of them to take the whole bundle of sticks as bound up together and to break it :— And there was not any one of them that had strength enough to break the fastly united bundle ; whereupon the experienced sage, and prudent old man, said to all his sons, *My sons, if you are disunited and separated from your connection, you may one after another be broken to pieces : But if you continue united in one close compact body, there is no danger of your being broken and ruined.*

This is a very good story : And I am persuaded, that these united states have a good understanding and sound wisdom to make the best improvement of it.

If then any particular notions and fancies should be suggested to the representatives of any one of these states, which may have a tendency to break the union and good agreement between them ; these notions and fancies should be immediately disregarded, detested, and rejected with abhorrence : For why should a *confederation* upon the best of political principles, have any *infraction* made on it ?

Leodamas accusing *Calistratus*, said, that he who consulted badly did more unjustly than he who did badly : For that which was bad would not have been done, unless some one had advised to it. No one consulter then or adviser to any scheme or measure, that may tend to produce an alienation of any one of the states from the rest should be heard and regarded : For they are to be considered as inimical to the whole. We may and should learn from our honored brethren, the *United States*, on the other side of the atlantic, with whom we are in alliance, that *small things grow great by concord, and by discord great things fall asunder.*

As *unity* is the cause of all fortitude and strength in states and government ; and division and separation is the cause of all weakness, opposition and mischief ; therefore, all who try to disunite any of these states, and to promote discord between them, should be treated with marks of the greatest indignity and contempt.

And if there should be any in these regions, whether *intrinsic traitors* or *British emissaries*, who are fond of a return to *Egypt*, and use any attempts for bringing these states into a subjection to their old task masters ; such traitorous persons deserve, without delay, to be banished from this part of the world to the land of slaves, nor should they ever be suffered to return to us again.

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There is a very elegant and pious inscription on the Court House, at *Ratibon*, which may be beheld on a marble table in golden letters, * that I think deserves to be cut on a stone and placed over the door of the house where the great council of *North America* meets: And as this inscribed inscription is designed for the consideration of the most worthy members of the *American Congress*; I shall therefore give it as I find it, and leave it untranslated: And it is, as follows, *Quisquis Senator Curiam, Officii causa, ingrederis, ante hoc Ostium privati Affectus omnes abjicito: Iram, Vim Odium Amicitiam, Adulationem; Reipublice Personam & curam subjicito: Nam ut aliis equum, aut iniquus fueris, ita quique DEI Judicium expectabis & suscipies.*

I would, with becoming humility and submission, intreat of the representatives of these United States, that from the consideration of this inscription, they would take advice, speak their minds, and form all their resolutions.

If they, who have the management of the continental affairs, intend and mean, as no doubt they do, to be loved and esteemed, they will rule, as they have hitherto done, with a tranquil mind and a gentle hand: And, like the rich and fructifying Nile, they will gently flow along; and, like that, they will yield more profit than all other rivers: And the observation of the poet will, I am persuaded, be remembered and verified by them, *Peragit tranquilla potestas, quod violenta nequit*† Power tranquil will perform what violent can't effect.

Nor have we reason to think, that these *American States* will ever designedly pass over the constitutions that have been wisely and judiciously established among us. Even *Tiberius* himself, the author of that vile and abominable maxim, that *he who knows not to dissemble, knows not how to reign*, during the first eleven years of his reign, wherein he reigned well and performed acts of justice and goodness, instead of tyranny and oppression, once declared in full senate, *Nec utendum imperio, ubi legibus agi possit*:‡ Where things may be conducted by laws, empire or authority is not

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* I have taken it from *Horæ Camerari Subciv.*

† *Claudian.*

‡ *Taciti Annal.*

to be used. And surely they, who are much better and wiser men than he, will never, for the sake of supporting an imperious and arbitrary dominion, leap over the *American constitution and laws*.

But if there should, at any time or on any occasion, be a *disagreement* between the members of one state and another, about the public affairs and interests; may I not be allowed meekly and humbly to beseech, that this disagreement may not interfere with the public counsels, nor suffered to obstruct the public measures. And here it may be adviseable to bring to remembrance the worthy examples of *Aristides and Themistocles*; These great men differed and became inimical: But when the *Persian army* passed over into *Greece*, they went out of the city together, each holding the right hand of the other with close and blended fingers; and they both cried out, *Here we lay aside our enmity, until we have dispatched the war against the Persians.* § And surely it must be proper and reasonable to think and expect, that Christian rulers will not only imitate such Pagan examples of public virtue, but strive to excel and outshine them, in laying aside *private peaks and prejudices* when they are concerned in managing matters for the public; and in firmly uniting hearts as well as hands for advancing the general safety, interest, honor and happiness.

The inner parts of *Britain*, which *Catullus* mistakenly calls *ultimam occidentis insulam*, the last island of the west, had their *civil wars and factions*; and they were defeated by *these* rather than by the power of the invading *Romans*; and, after much slaughter and carnage on both sides, as *Cambden* relates, they fell by little and little, under subjection to the Roman empire. And *Tacitus* acquaints us concerning these foolish *Britons*, *Dum singuli pugnant, omnes vincuntur*, while they quarrelled and fought among themselves they were all conquered.

We in these states have seen the advantage of our union and confederation: for, by uniting we have stood our ground; and we remain unconquered. And it is to be hoped, that recollecting the foolish conduct of the *Britons*, and taking warning from it, we shall carefully avoid their quarrelsome and factionous

tious temper and manners, that so we may escape the inconveniences and mischiefs that they experienced.

In the next place, may it not be recommended as adviseable, that every member of the *States General* of *North-America* should aim and endeavour after a *truly public spirit*, and evidence their exemplariness for it (by a readiness to spend their time, to employ their powers and part with their worldly interest for the public & general interest and comfort. Modern *politticks* and *stbicks* indeed may now all be reduced to one fordid maxim and they seem in fact to be comprized in it, *Regard nothing but yourself and your own particular profit*. It is a most base and ruinous maxim; and it will produce the greatest dangers to the commonwealth, when men act from it; as well as eternal wretchedness to the animals, who govern themselves by it.

There was a king, and *rara avis in terra*, was he, who discovered himself not to be governed by any such base maxim: it is the present king of *Poland*.—for I suppose him to be yet living.—who wrote in the following manner, to one *Madam Geofrin*:—*It does not signify; we must obey the public voice, when it is necessary to prove, that we feel and partake of its troubles: each individual should sacrifice in the time of danger; and I willingly give the example*. Thus he. And may the whole world be * composed after such an example! The potent and illustrious managers of our most public affairs will, I trust, be as willing and ready as any king, or any other person, to give up and resign private views and selfish interests; and to sacrifice their all in any time of difficulty and danger.

Again, as the *States General* will not suddenly and hastily make engagements, so, when they have with calmness, deliberation and judgment made any, they will doubtless take care not to break them. *Sir William Temple* has written, that a breach of faith is highly unjust in a subject, but it is absolutely unpardonable in a prince. And we may venture to say, for the wise and good will bear us out in saying it, that the chief rulers of any state, or of states confederated, should keep their faith inviolate. And if they should break it with respect to their own people, or with any foreign states and kingdoms, it would be a very criminal and inexcusable piece of misconduct.

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As for my own part I must own, that I esteem the integrity and fortitude of *Regulus*, who, to keep his promise and faith, returned to his enemies with whom he had been prisoner, tho' he knew he went forward to death. And what man or body of men, that have regard to credit and honor, rather than break their promise and faith, would not submit to the most shocking death?

And further, the principal rulers of these states, will, without question, look well as to the persons that are designed to hold and execute offices under them. For, as *Seneca* has prudently remarked, we call candidates; that is, for offices, good men: the meaning is, that they are good men until they get their places; but when they have got the possession of them from being very good they become bad and very fraudulent. — Now there cannot be too great care to guard against such persons, that they may be kept from offices of trust; or that, as soon as may be, they may be removed from them. And it may be well expected, that all the deserters of the *American* cause should never be employed in any place of consequence to the community.

Once more; the public managers in behalf of these states would do well to apply to the king of *Prussia*, and the states of *Holland* and *Switzerland*, to obtain copies of their laws, that so they may be dispersed through these states and a judicious collection may be made from them: and each of these states may form for themselves a new code of laws, as plain and explicit as it is possible to make them: for as an ancient writer has told us, *It is very convenient that laws should be rightly made, so as to define all things that happen, and leave the lowest things to the power of the Judges.* † And it is proper also that these laws should be so formed and enacted that it may, as far as is possible, be put out of the power of any designing and cunning person to pervert or perplex them.

To proceed. It may be proper to mention the fancy of the learned Mr. *Joseph Mede*; which is, that the *Gog* and *Magog* that are to go up from the breadth of the earth and compass the camp of the saints about and the beloved city are to come from America. It is an idle fancy: However it is our wisdom and interest in order to confute it, to take care that learning, as well as religion, and hence schools and colleges, may

† *Aristotel.* Rhetoric 2.

may be at all times supported and encouraged throughout these States ; for otherwise we shall be in danger of being like to *Gog and Magog*, like *Scythia and Tartary*, for ignorance, irreligion and brutality : And, if we become so, the wickedest and vilest enterprizes may be undertaken and prosecuted by us. But we hope better things of American freemen.

Again ; The utmost care should be taken, that the *Spartan wall* may be supported and strengthened : This is the virtue and integrity of the citizens throughout these united States : For this virtue and integrity will be the best barrier to these States : And it ought to be preferred to any fortifications whatsoever, and to the strongest gates of brass for our security, defence, and prosperous establishment.

Furthermore ; It may not be amiss to intreat these *American States* not to interest themselves in the disputes and contentions of the *European Powers*, nor to take any part in their wars. As we are at a great distance from them, and we shall surely hurt ourselves by taking a part in their controversies and warlike engagements ; it must be most safe and prudent for us, after the settlement of our peace, not to concern ourselves with the nations of *Europe* only in the way of commerce and a continual intercourse of friendly offices.

Moreover ; They who rule over men, over reasonable beings, should be just, personally and politically, just : And they should rule in the fear of *GOD* ; always acknowledging him themselves, and influencing and leading the people under them to do so : For *GOD* will be with them that are with him : And, if they seek him, he will be found of them : But if they forsake him, he will forsake them.

To conclude. I bow my knees to the *GOD* and Father of our *LORD JESUS CHRIST* ; intreating, that *GOD* would in and through him, confer all the blessings of Heaven and earth upon these *United States*, and that from generation to generation, even to the second coming of the Son of Man, to judge and rule the world in righteousness : And I heartily profess myself to be their friend and servant in the *LORD*, and ready to be offered for their temporal welfare and especially their eternal happiness.

THE TESTATOR.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of subscribers. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list includes names such as "John Smith", "Jane Doe", and "Robert Johnson", among others.

